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LETTERS TO MR. HALLETT.
No. 5.

To B. F. HALLETT, Esq.:

SIR: There never has been a time in the history of this Government, when it was more important that things should be called by their right names than the present. The policy which has brought the existing evils upon the country, has been greatly aided by a perversion of this rule. Thus, when a system of the grossest abuse of the executive power was to be introduced, it was called "reform." When the power of the President was to be thereby exalted above the constitution, the laws, and the legislative and judicial departments of the Government, it was called "Republicanism"—and when that system, in its rank and offensive maturity, is to be perpetuated in the person of Mr. Van Buren, it is called "Democracy!" Never, since the invention of language, was there a grosser perversion of it than this. It would, however, not be an appropriate correction of these misnomers, to use terms of an exactly opposite meaning, because, although there is in the system of policy to which I have adverted, the essence of despotism, yet that term in its ordinary acceptation, will not describe it; because, essentially despotic as it is, it wears the garb, and is invested with the forms of constitutional freedom. Circumlocutions may tell us what it is, but no single standard word can do it. A new coinage must, therefore, be resorted to; and hence the term "*Van Burenism*," which I have used, and which has so much disturbed you, that it has furnished the subject matter of almost an entire letter of two columns, which you and your correspondent have addressed to me. You seem to be very much in the dark as to the meaning of this word, and indulge in various speculations with regard to the propriety of its adoption. Now, sir, in the first place, before proceeding to give you the why and wherefore, let me bring forward my authority. Though it is not found—to use your language—"in the dictionaries nor in the books of law or history," it is, nevertheless, sanctioned by an authority which you, at least, are bound to respect—I mean the authority of *Edward D. Barber*, whom you have denominated (with how much truth, I will not take upon me to say), "the truest and ablest friend of our cause in Vermont." Neither *MASONRY* nor *VAN BURENISM*, nor both (said Mr. B. in his paper of the 1st of July, 1833) can succeed with the *Green Mountain boys*. *POLITICAL JUGGLING* will run a short race among the descendants of *Ethan Allen*.

Now, it fortunately happens that Mr. Barber has not left you in the dark, as you say I have, about the signification of this word. He has given a definition which, though short, is full of meaning. That definition is—"Political Juggling." It is in some respects quite preferable to mine, which went into detail; having the advantage of brevity and point, while it is perfectly intelligible to all capacities. As to the correctness of the definition, I am very much disposed to leave the matter to be settled between Mr. Barber and yourself.

Language is made to facilitate an exchange of ideas, and will, in its scope, accommodate itself, of course to the range of ideas in the community which uses it. This is the foundation of the gradual enlargement of its stock of words; and it was upon this principle that Mr. Barber coined the term in question. The idea which was intended to convey, and which he illustrated in his admirable definition, has long been common in Vermont as applicable to the individual whose name has thus become incorporated in the spoken and written language of the country.

Instead of adopting Mr. Barber's definition of this term, I employed one more fully descriptive. I called it "*Mr. Van Buren's system of policy*," which I said "changes essentially the character of the Government; it strikes at the constitution itself; destroys the balance which it has provided for the security of freedom; elevates the Executive above the other departments; makes the officers of Government the dependants of Presidential favor, and the instruments of Presidential will, rather than the impartial, upright ministers of the law; and gradually brings all the operations of the Government to be but a revolution around one man, as the great centre of influence and power."

I added, "The system I have sketched is irreconcilably opposed to the fundamental principles of democratic anti-masonry, namely, that the People should be the intelligent and responsible source of power, and the Law supreme."

Having thus sketched "*Van Burenism*," I proceeded to say—"Mr. Van Buren has done more than any other man to rear this system to its present maturity, and is the first man who has undertaken to use it for the purpose of securing an elevation to the Chief Magistracy of the country." This you deny, and call upon me to prove it. You admit that the leading measures of General Jackson's administration cannot be justified—but deny that Mr. Van Buren is at all responsible for them! Thus you say—"with some qualifications, not necessary here to be detailed, I assent to all the principles which it has been your pleasure to lay down. I have no more than yourself been a supporter of the President or his measures. I did not understand the expediency of the removal of the deposits, nor approve the frequent exercise of the veto power.—These things have been traced by me, not

to Mr. Van Buren, as you by a very unsatisfactory process of reasoning, try to do, but to the original basis upon which General Jackson was raised to his high station."

It is worthy of remark, that in the enumeration of the measures of General Jackson's administration, the expediency of which you "did not understand," you advert only to the removal of the deposits and the exercise of the veto power, and omit even an allusion to the leading vices of his administration—namely, the abuse of the removing and appointing power, and the kindred claim of unlimited control over all the official acts of the officers subject to removal by him. You knew that upon these rested the whole superstructure of Executive abuses and usurpations. You knew that "an exceeding great army" of officeholders had thus been "raised up" throughout the country, ready to obey the Executive bidding; and that such a high tone had been thereby given to the organization and energies of "the party," that a finger placed upon the machine by a master spirit here, might be instantly felt to the remotest extremities of the Union. You was, perhaps, wise in omitting any allusion to this, because it is the very soul of "the system" which I said Mr. Van Buren had "done more than any other man to rear." It is this tendency of which, in the language of the 6th of the Montpelier anti-masonic resolutions, is to "bind men to the Executive, by the ties of interest, rather than to the Constitution and the country by the force of elevated and patriotic principle,—to substitute a government of influence for a government of law, and thus gradually to bring all the operations of the Government within the grasp of Executive control." It is this, which, in the language of the 7th of those resolutions, constitutes "a manifest departure from the simplicity and purity of the early administration of our Government," and "carries out, under the venerable, but abused, names of Democracy and Republicanism, the principles which rendered the administration of the elder Adams so justly obnoxious to the Democratic Republicans of '98."

But feeling yourself pressed with the arguments against this Anti-Republican, and Anti-Democratic system, you endeavor to shield Mr. Van Buren from their force, by calling upon me to prove—"distinctly to prove," that he is at all responsible for the system. Why, sir, you might with about as much propriety, ask me "distinctly to prove" that the sun shines at mid-day, because a cloud is interposed between the earth and that luminary. You might say—there is, indeed, light—I see it all around me. But what proof is there that it comes from the sun? Show me the proof—the "distinct proof."

And do you ask me to enter the cabinet of General Jackson, and to bring forth distinct proof of the process by which Mr. Van Buren, seven years ago, wormed his way into his confidence, and accurately to measure the influences which that confidence has enabled him to exert upon the course of the administration? Do you not perfectly understand the relation which Mr. Van Buren has sustained to the President from that time to the present? Is there, I had almost said, a school boy in the country who is ignorant of it? Was he not at the head of General Jackson's first cabinet—sustaining to him the relation of a special confidant and adviser? Was not that cabinet broken by his intrigues, and the men who formed it, with one exception, placed under the ban of executive displeasure? Does any well informed man now doubt that he laid the train which blew up a most distinguished friend of the President, and brought down upon him his severe and enduring displeasure? Does not every body know that he has been constantly offering incense to the vanity of the "Chief," from the moment that he found his way into the conclave of his confidential advisers?

And had not Mr. Van Buren moreover long stood at the head of a political party in New York, whose cardinal principle was, and still is, that "to the victors belong the spoils of victory?" And is it not notorious that all the public assurances of General Jackson previous to his election, had indicated a disposition entirely adverse, in this respect, to that which marked the course of his administration, from the moment that Mr. Van Buren entered it as his special and confidential adviser?

And after all, you ask me for "distinct proof" that Mr. Van Buren was the author of the "system" I have described!—a system upon whose whole face his "image and superscription" are thus broadly and deeply stamped!

The conclusions to which I have thus arrived, are confirmed by the pledge which Mr. Van Buren has publicly given that he will, if elected, "carry out the principles and policy" of the present administration. On this point there can be no mistake—whoever has been the author of the "system," he has pledged himself to adopt and perpetuate it; and you and I are thus called upon to decide whether we will aid in fastening it, perhaps irrevocably, upon the country.

But you want the proof of my position that Mr. Van Buren "is the first man who has undertaken to use" the "system" for the purpose of securing an elevation to the Chief Magistracy of the country.

Well, sir, in the first place, let me ask, if any man before him has undertaken to reach the Presidency through such means? Who is he? What is his name?

In the next place, is it not notorious that this system is, in fact, the main instrument by which his elevation is promoted?—that the Baltimore Convention was its legitimate offspring?—that the office-holders throughout the country, (in direct opposition to the declaration, in General

Jackson's first inaugural, that "the patronage of the Government should not be brought into conflict with the freedom of elections,") were most actively engaged in getting up that convention, and are now putting forth their whole energies to bring the people to sanction its decisions?—that they are, in fact, "compassing sea and land to make proselytes" to Mr. Van Buren's cause? And is he, think you, *passive* in all this? Has he put in operation a system which is thus efficiently employed in his service; and are we gravely to be told that he has nothing to do with guiding its movements? that he is not using it to advance his elevation to the Presidency?

I have dwelt longer upon this part of the subject than may seem necessary, because I perceive that those whose new-born zeal is, like yours, impelling them to special efforts in the cause of Mr. Van Buren, are laboring to persuade the opponents of the present Administration that all its "misrule" is chargeable alone to General Jackson; and that, in its inception and progress, Mr. Van Buren has been a mere "looker on in Venice." You say that, "if any case is made out, at all, it is made out against General Jackson," who is "*prima facie* responsible," unless I "can distinctly prove the contrary." Thus shrinking from a vindication of General Jackson's leading measures; compelled, indeed, to condemn them; you entreat that Mr. Van Buren may be exonerated from responsibility for the odious system! But, sir, you will entreat in vain. You may talk to lawyers about the "case," and the "*prima facie*" responsibility of General Jackson, and the "*distinct proof*" to the contrary; and all that; but the people will understand the matter, and hold to a just responsibility the real Author of the system which has become so justly obnoxious to their displeasure.

I am, &c.

W. SLADE.

A CAPTIVATING PICTURE.

We publish to-day as promised some days since, a condensed view of the character of General Harrison. If the reader does not arise from its perusal with feelings of attachment and admiration of the man, we will be willing to admit our want of comprehension of those qualities in man which endears him to his fellow-men. It is from Judge Hall's memoir.—No one will deny the justice of the character, or doubt its truth.

CHARACTER OF GEN. HARRISON.

We must now review some of the ground that we have passed over, for the purpose of presenting in another point of view, the public services of the distinguished individual whose eventful career has occupied our attention. We have more than once alluded to the integrity and disinterestedness of Gen. Harrison. We have noticed his patriotism and devotedness to his country; and we now propose to offer some proofs of the display of those qualities, in addition to the evidence afforded by his public acts.

We have seen that General Harrison never contemplated the military service as a permanent profession. When the first war for independence was terminated by the victory of Wayne, the delivery of the British posts in the North West, he threw aside the habiliments of a soldier and accepted a civil office. He passed from one grade to another, enjoying successively the confidence of the elder Adams, Jefferson and Madison, and of the people of Ohio and Indiana. As Governor of Indiana, and superintendent of Indian affairs, for thirteen years, large sums of money passed through his hands, to be disbursed at his discretion, and subjected to few of the checks which are now provided, under the admirable arrangement of the offices at Washington. He gave no security; nor had the government any other guarantee for the faithful application of those funds, but his prudence and honesty. That he was true to his trust, is obvious from the fact that he remained poor, and did not become the debtor of the government. He made no speculation on public money or lands.

In the expedition of Tippecanoe, he led the militia to his own territory, and a few volunteers from Kentucky, in the field, as governor of Indiana, and commander-in-chief of its militia. The command that he afterwards held on the north western frontier, was given him at the spontaneous call of the western people. He did not seek the office nor the emoluments of a general; but willingly led his fellow citizens to battle, sharing with them the labors, the dangers, and the horrors of war, and retiring with them to private life when the contest ceased.

As commander-in-chief he was subjected to heavy expenses. His command was spread over so wide a territory that he was obliged to travel incessantly and to entertain a large suite. Nearly all his operations were carried on with militia, and all the measures necessary to draw these troops to the field, to conciliate them while there, and to retain them in service, obliged him to maintain an extensive intercourse with influential citizens, and to receive many of them at his head quarters. Unlike the leader of a regular army who is provided with troops and supplies, and is independent of the country, General Harrison was placed in a kind of political relation to the people, who required that he should possess their confidence and good will. It was requisite therefore that he should keep free quarters for the reception of such of his fellow-citizens as visited him on business, or came to see their friends in the army.—His expenses so far exceeded his pay, that he was obliged to sell a tract of land during the war to meet them; so that he not only exposed his life and gave his labor to his

country, but contributed a portion of his small estate to sustain her in one of the darkest periods of her existence.

He had purchased from the government several fine tracts of land, in Indiana, on the Ohio river, on which, under the system of the sale practiced, only part of the money was paid. The final payment became due while the General was on the frontier; and, for want of money to meet it the land was forfeited. It is true that under a subsequent law, he received back the sum of money he had actually paid in; but this was no compensation of the loss of a body of fine land, which is now perhaps worth twenty dollars per acre, and would have placed him in easy circumstances, could he have retained it.

At the time that our distinguished friend was thus devoting his private fortune to public service, sacrificing that which, tho' small in value then would have risen with the rapid appreciation of property in the west, into ample estate, he had liberty to draw on the Government to an unlimited amount, and was daily passing large sums of public money through his hands. During the war he drew on the government for more than six hundred thousand dollars for public purposes, not a cent of which was ever diverted to his own use; and at the close of his military service there was no charge against him on the books of the accounting officers at Washington, except for a few hundred dollars which he had expended as secret service money, and which was promptly allowed by the President.

Since the war, General Harrison has been the principal, and almost the only, representative of the military class of our citizens in a region in which he lived; and the old soldiers crowded about him. The veterans who had served under Wayne, St. Clair, and others of the early commanders, came to him to present their claims for land and for pensions. Those who had served in the late war under him, came to him of course as their next friend. Born in Virginia, and bred in the west, he was hospitable by nature and by habit—and the old soldier always found a welcome at his fireside. Not only were his expenses increased, but a vast deal of his time employed, in the duties of charity or friendship towards this deserving class of citizens.

Some years ago, it was ascertained that a large body of land adjoining Cincinnati, and bordering on the Ohio, which had been sold previously for a mere pittance, under an execution against the original proprietor, could not be held by the titles derived from the purchasers, because the proceedings were irregular. The legal title was in Gen. Harrison and another gentleman, who were the heirs at law. The hundreds of acres included in this tract would have constituted princely domains for both these gentlemen, and have afforded a wealthy inheritance for their descendants, had they chosen to have insisted on their legal rights, and they could have perhaps done justice to the purchasers by giving them a small portion of the whole for their equitable claim. But General Harrison is not the man who ever compromises between his honor and his interest; and immediately on being informed of the situation of the property, he procured the assent of his co-heir, and joined him in executing deeds in fee simple to the purchasers, without claiming any consideration for what he considered an act of duty, except a few hundred dollars, being the difference between the actual value when sold, and the amount paid at the sheriff's sale. Included in the tract, however, were twelve acres of the most valuable part, which was actually the property of General Harrison, by donation from his father-in-law, and in his possession at the time of the sale under the execution, and which were improperly included in the sale in consequence of his title not appearing on record. This he might have retained both legally and equitably; but such was his nice regard for his reputation, and his scrupulous desire to do all the justice that others were disposed to claim of him, that he agreed to receive for his portion, as well as the other, a small payment which, with the amount for which it was struck off at sale, would make up what was supposed to have been its value when sold. The last described portion thus relinquished, is worth one hundred thousand dollars.

It is well known, that it has not been uncommon for gentlemen holding high offices, to avail themselves of their influence to provide for their relatives. A large number of the members of Congress, and other high functionaries, have procured appointments for their sons in the military academy at West Point, or in the navy, by means of which these young gentlemen are educated and provided for, at early age, at the expense of the government. Many of those who thus relieve themselves of the expense of educating their own sons, are wealthy men. General Harrison has had a numerous family, mostly sons, and has never been wealthy. He has always since his sons have been old enough to be educated, until very lately, held offices of high grade and influence, and could at any time have procured such a favor by asking for it. He had higher claims to such patronage than most men, his father was a distinguished patriot of the revolution—he himself had fought through two wars—one of his sons was married to the daughter of the lamented General Pike who fell in battle during the late war; and the children of this marriage became, by the early death of their father, dependent upon General Harrison. But he educated his family at his own expense. It is true, that more than once, while in Congress, he formed the intention of placing one of his sons at West Point, or the navy, but finding his applications from his own state more numerous than could be complied with, he disinterestedly

waived his own claims in favor of his constituents, and procured appointments for their sons in preference to his own. On one occasion, when his straitened circumstances, and his desire to place one of his sons in the military profession had induced him to resolve to ask an appointment for him at West Point, a poor neighbor brought to him a fine boy, whom he was wholly unable to educate, and begged him to place him at West Point; the General took the son of his humble constituent under his patronage, procured him a place in the military academy, and has had the satisfaction of seeing him become a valuable citizen, high in office in one of the western states.

In person General Harrison is tall and slender; his countenance is expressive of the vivacity and benevolence of his character; his fine dark eye is remarkable for its keenness, fire and intelligence. Altho' from early manhood he has never had the appearance of possessing a robust constitution, yet such has been the effect of an active life and temperate habits, that few men enjoy at his age so much bodily vigor or moral energy. He seldom or never partakes of ardent spirits, and does not habitually use even wine. Equally moderate in his diet, he is emphatically a temperate man.

He is remarkably amiable in his social and domestic relations. Generous, kind, and affectionate, in his disposition—mild and forbearing in his temper—plain, easy, and unostentatious in his manners—cheerful and affable in his intercourse with his friends and strangers—easily accessible to all, and unbounded in his charities. Warm in his affections, he has never been violent or vindictive in his enmities. Those who know him love him, and his enemies have only been such as have been created by his political relations, or by the operation of causes growing out of party feeling. In a long life of collision with men of every class—frequently with the most fierce, turbulent, and ungovernable, we have no knowledge of his having been engaged in personal hostilities, or in a duel, and such was the effect of his mild and gentlemanly example, that not a duel was fought in the north-western army while he commanded.

The son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and reared under the eye and the influence of the founders of our government, he early imbibed a deep reverence for the constitution, which has been evinced in all his public acts through life. From the house of his father, the guardianship of Robert Morris, and the patronage of Washington, he passed into the service of his country in the companionship of Wayne, St. Clair, and other illustrious men, of that noble band who laid the foundation of our liberty. In civil office he became associated with Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and other master spirits, who, while they were among the fathers of the constitution, were also great leaders of the democratic party. They professed the principles which had been instilled into his mind from early infancy, and which in the mature reflection of manhood, he considered right, and he acted with the democratic party consistently and steadily. From early associations therefore, as well as from principle, he has retained, through all the vicissitudes of life, an ardent love and a deep reverence for the pure maxims of the revolution; and has been in the habit of testing his political opinions by the constitution itself, and the contemporaneous exposition of its framers.

In civil office and military command, he was always just, moderate and firm; avoiding violent and arbitrary measures, and preferring to govern by persuasion and argument.

The talent and attainments of General Harrison, may be estimated from his writings, his speeches, and his acts. The man who would deny to him a high order of intellect, must be regardless of the evidence of history. For forty years his name has been associated with the most important transactions of our country, and the proofs of his intellectual endowments may be found on its records. The lawyer whose whole time has been devoted to the examination of a particular class of subjects, may be able to embody his thoughts on a question of constitutional or municipal law with more technical precision, and mould his language with greater art and sophistry. The trained politician, whose energies have been devoted with unceasing vigilance, to his own elevation, who has watched the temper of the times, and fluctuating opinions of parties, may be more expert in making or in seizing occasions to display his patriotism or address. But General Harrison may be advantageously compared with any of his contemporaries as a man of abilities, and a sound and able practical politician. His writings, which are numerous, speak for themselves; they are distinguished for clearness and facility of composition. Few men write better or with greater rapidity. In many high stations which he has filled, he has never been in the habit of employing a secretary or amanuensis, to write his letters, but has always performed this duty for himself. He is an animated and ready speaker, fluent in language, plain, but not ungraceful in manner. We have seldom seen any one who is so prompt or so happy in an extemporaneous address. His aptitude and readiness in bringing the resources of a highly cultivated mind to bear, without apparent premeditation, upon any subject which may be presented, are singularly felicitous. It was this rare union of ability, courtesy, and moderation, that caused General Harrison to be so much beloved by the militia whom he commanded in the war. These were the qualities that won for him the friendship of the gallant cavalier hero of Erie,

who wrote to him in 1813, "You know what has been my opinion as to the future commander-in-chief of the army. I pride myself, not a little, I assure you, on seeing my predictions so near being verified, yes my dear friend, I expect soon to hail you as the chief who is to redeem the honor of our arms in the north." The men whose character could extort such a compliment from the modest and unassuming Perry—himself a daring officer, a man of discernment, who, after achieving one of the noblest of the victories that grace our annals, voluntarily accompanied Harrison to the field, and acted as his aid at the battle of the Thames—the man, we say, who could extort such a compliment from such a source, must have high merits.

Another distinguished witness of the conduct of Harrison—General M'Arthur, who had served under him, wrote to him in 1814: "You, sir, stand the highest with the militia of this State of any General in the service, and I am confident that no man can fight them to so great advantage, and I think their extreme solicitude may be the means of calling you to this frontier."

General Harrison himself, on being asked how he managed to gain the control which he always swayed over the militia, answered, "By treating them with affection and kindness—by always recollecting that they were my fellow citizens, whose feelings I was bound to respect, by sharing on every occasion the hardships which they were obliged to undergo."

When Commodore Perry, forgetting his own recent daring, remonstrated with General Harrison on his exposure of his own person, in an attack made by the Indians on the army, at Chatham, shortly before the action of the Thames, and also in the battle of the Thames, the intrepid leader replied, that "it was necessary that a General should set the example."

To those who have known General Harrison this recapitulation of his virtues and services may be unnecessary. The pioneers of the west who have braved the elements and the battle—who have endured hardships and privations—will not join in the unmanly endeavor to sacrifice to the fury of party prejudice a high-minded and highly gifted patriot, by stigmatizing him as "a military chieftain." He is now a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people—not by his own choice—nor by the dictation of a self-constituted convention—not by the prompting of the midnight caucus—but by the call of the democracy of the land. The people of the west, who know the sterling qualities of the patriarch of North Bend, will sustain that call, and give a pledge to their fellow citizens throughout the Union, that Harrison is the man we have represented him.

Harrison was, among those who came to the frontier in those days of peril. He shared the toils, the privations, & anxieties of the pioneers, who conquered this fair land. He led them to battle against their foes, and was triumphant. He represented their interests on the floor of Congress, and was not less successful. Appointed governor, he won their confidence and love by his humane conduct, and his conciliatory manners, and the unwearied industry with which he discharged the duties of his office. In every situation they have found him the same. When high in civil office he never forgot his responsibility to the people, or abused the great powers with which he was entrusted—when placed at the head of an army, he was not violent or arbitrary. He never rashly exposed the lives of his men, in battle, for the selfish purpose of winning laurels to deck his own brow. He never crushed others that he might stride into power himself. He never set aside the laws of his country, or insulted the majesty of the people in the person of their officers. He was never prodigal of the lives or property of his fellow-citizens. He was a brave soldier without being a violent man—an accomplished leader without inordinate ambition—a conqueror, without forgetting the precepts of justice and mercy.

Such a man deserves the confidence of the people. The politicians may hesitate because he owes them nothing. The leaders of parties may stand aloof, because he is not enlisted under any of their banners. He is the candidate of the people, chosen by themselves from their own ranks, and indebted to none but them for their support. They know him to be an able civilian and an honest man. From all his high civil trusts, he has carried no spoils into private life. After a long life spent in the public service, he is living upon the fruits of his daily industry—a plain unassuming man, beloved and respected by all who know the goodness of his heart, and the sterling integrity of his conduct.

KENTUCKY NOMINATION.

Resolved, therefore, by the House of Representatives of Kentucky, That our fellow citizens be requested to unite with us in the support of an electoral ticket favorable to the election of the well tried patriot and statesman, General WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, of Ohio, for President of the United States.

YANKEE INVENTIONS.—In a new play, termed "The Green Mountain Boy," in a dialogue, the Yankee is asked tauntingly who his father was—he replies: "Who was my father? My father was the first inventor of thrashing machines. I am the first of his make, and can be in operation at a very little expense and at the shortest notice! so look out." He thus describes the New England sausage and scrubbing brush machine. "Into the centre of this machine, you drive a hog, then set screws agoing, and it will produce ready made sausages, from one end, and patent scrubbing brushes from the other."